

4
SOME THOUGHTS

K
ON THE

REASONABLENESS

OF A

GENERAL NATURALIZATION:

Addressed to THOSE of all Denominations who act upon

WHIG-PRINCIPLES.



L O N D O N,

Printed for H. SHUTE COX in *Pater-noster Row*.

MDCCLIII.

[Price Sixpence.]

SOME THOUGHTS

ON THE

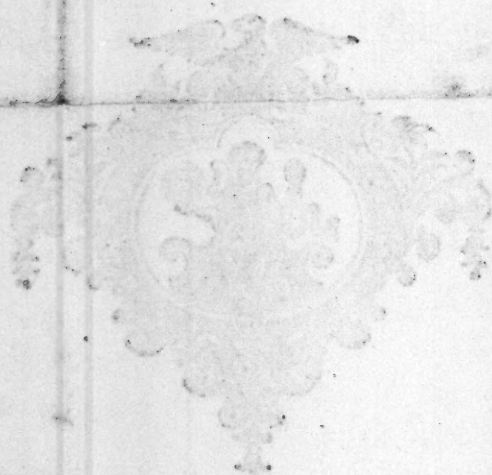
REASONABLENESS

OF A

GENERAL NATURALIZATION;

Addressed to Those of all Denominations who are upon

W H I G G A M & C O P Y R I G H T



L O N D O N

Printed for H. Smith Cox in Pall Mall New

M D C C L I I I

[Price Sixpence]

Some THOUGHTS on the REASONABLENESS of a
GENERAL NATURALIZATION, &c.

THIS Address in Favour of Man, is not meant to be confin'd to any Party of Men. Whig-Principles are Principles of Reason, of Liberty, of universal Benevolence, unclouded by Ignorance, unwarped by Error, unnarrow'd and unrestrain'd by local Prejudices. They are the Principles of rational Beings acting as *such*; and if *such* are to be reduced into any Specifick Class, it can only be in Contra-Distinction to others, who with the Figure and Form of Man fall back into the Mass of Animal Entity; some into the mute and obedient Flocks and Herds; others into the more savage and untamed, as led or driven by various Instinct, Temper and Complexion.

Sociability, in an imperfect Sense of the Word, is not peculiar to *Man*. It is to be found in all Individuals of whatever Species: The Bear and the Ox have their Friends and Societies; but their Friendships and Associations are confined to Those who are Inhabitants of the same Forests and Fields; a Stranger is an Enemy, because He is a Stranger. They act from Instinct, but They act from Instinct only.

The same Spring moves the human Bosom, but tempered with Humanity, and directed by Reason, it only serves to prompt the Rational and the Humane, to exert Benevolence upon Those who are nearest the Reach of Bounty and of Assistance.

The native Soil will ever be dearest to the best and the wisest Men; but far from rejecting the Stranger who quits his own Country for theirs, They will cherish him for the Preference, and love him for a Conformity of Affection. This Sameness of Affection, of Disposition and of Manners, which characterises the different Nations, as it varies in different Countries, could alone have determined his Choice, and the Naturalized Foreigner must have been stamp'd a *Briton* by Nature, before he becomes one by Law.

The meer Animal, could he reason, might consider the Stranger as an Usurper of his Rights, and a Devourer of his Food; for he neither increases by Industry that Food which he consumes, nor strengthens their Empire whose Territory he inhabits: He comes an Invader, and brings the same unsocial or hostile Spirit with which he is receiv'd.

But Man propagates those Fruits upon which he feeds, multiplies those Blessings which he partakes, supports and defends those Rights for others which he enjoys in common with them; and They who exclude *such*, act upon Principles more opposite to Reason, than that Instinct which directs the unarguing Brute.

Capacious Minds and enlarged Hearts will entertain suitable Notions and Sentiments; They will see and pursue great Interests, and in the Pursuit be superior to little Difficulties, to little Prejudices, and to false or futile Objections. While narrow Minds and contracted Hearts, whether suiting their Sentiments to their Conceptions, or their Con-

ceptions to their Sentiments, will prefer little Motives to great ones, because They can feel no others; little Objects to great ones, because They can comprehend no others; Themselves to their Parish, their Parish to the Nation; and in their Choice most often bring Prejudice to that which They would prefer.

From such Causes narrow Notions in Religion, narrow Notions in Trade, narrow Notions in Policy are derived; and Persecutions, Monopolies, and Exclusion of Foreigners flow from the same Tenets, religious, commercial, and political.

The fiery Zealot burns the Heretick for Doctrines harmless to him and to Society; the all-grasping Monopolist, like those obscene Swarms sent to execute Divine Vengeance upon a guilty Land, blasts the Fruits which he cannot devour; the unsocial Native shuts out the Foreigner from those Wastes which he cannot cultivate. All are actuated alike by the same Spirit, and in those wretched Countries where all alike prevail, their Foot-steps are marked in Ignorance, Misery and Desolation.

Such would now be the Condition of this Country, for in this Country all three prevailed, had not Providence worked our Deliverance from religious and civil Tyranny, and the Hand of Authority, directed by Wisdom, freed the Course of fortunate Events from the otherwise insuperable Obstructions of ill understood Laws.

Some Traces however, and those not slight ones, still remain of, at least, two of these Evils. There is a Species of Laws now subsisting in our Statute-Books, which beginning with the Reign of King *Richard the Second*, and multiplying through many succeeding Reigns, is a permanent Disgrace upon every Period through which they have passed, breathing the same selfish, absurd, and unsocial Jealousy: Nor are the parochial Politicks less just, less noble, and less enlightened, which banish the Neighbour as a Foreigner; than those National Prejudices which exclude the *Swiss*, the *German*, or the *Dutch*, from the Privileges of *Britons*, who would purchase those Privileges with their Substance and their Industry.

A Limitation of Numbers is an universal Monopoly, extending to every Branch of Trade and Manufacture, stinting the Number of the Employ'd, and of Those who employ them, of Those who earn, and of Those who consume.

The Weight of Taxes, great as they now are, may possibly be born by Numbers. Multiplicity of spacious Harbours, Felicity of Situation, Fertility of Soil, Goodness of Produce, and, above all, Liberty and Freedom of Government, give us Advantages improved by superior Skill, which might be sufficient to supply the numerous Drains now issuing from us.

But this universal Monopoly counteracts the Designs of Nature, by intercepting their Effects: It contracts our Harbours, for it reduces
our

our Shipping; it removes us to a greater Distance from other Commercial Nations, for it causes slow Returns; it impoverishes our Harvests, for it thins our Markets; it lessens the Blessings of free Government, for it restrains its Operation; and it shuts out superior Excellence, for it excludes Emulation.

That all Trade in its Rise and in its Progress proceeds from Numbers, is as certain as that mutual Wants, mutual Assurances, and the Means of supplying those Wants, and of affording these Assurances, Strength, Labour, Invention and Knowledge, are all multiplied by Numbers; that the Work of one supplies the Necessities of many, and that when by the Earnings of the Young, the Active, the Healthy, and the Vigorous, above their own Consumption, and that of the Old, the Lazy, the Infirm and Weak, the Home-Market overflows, such Superfluity becomes the Material of foreign Commerce.

To this Cause is owing our Superiority over other Countries, and to this Cause is owing the dangerous Superiority which one Country has over us; we know the Cause, and we apprehend the Danger, but we reject the only Means of removing the Inequality, and of averting its Effects.

Eighteen Millions of People will ever be an over Match for ten Millions, and their natural Increase will every Day make the Odds still greater. We have one Advantage by which to draw those Multitudes which we cannot produce, and to even these Odds; we have Liberty, we have Freedom for Persons, we have Security for Property, we have the best Form of Government that ever subsisted since Civil Societies were first instituted; but we have narrow Jealousies; we have National Pride in its worse Sense; we have National Prejudices, and National Hatreds; we would inclose ourselves within our Political Pale, as the only Predestin'd, and shut out the Nations of the World as reprov'd and rejected Sectaries; we want at least eight Millions more of People, to be upon an Equality with *France*; we have vacant Space sufficient for that Number; but far from endeavouring to fill up the Void and supply the Necessity, we even lay Restraints upon a large Portion of Those we have, as if, in these Circumstances, to prevent an Increase of Numbers, and to render useless as many as we can of our present Inhabitants, were fundamental Maxims of *British* Policy.

This Policy, in Conjunction with other Causes, has so fatally operated, that after many conjectural Proofs of our Numbers having decreased for upward of one Hundred Years last past, a Calculation, founded upon the best Authority, has been lately produced by a learned Prelate, which makes the Inhabitants of our great Metropolis less, in the Year 1750, by 162,084 People, than in the Year 1733. But whatever the Causes of this amazing Decrease may be, whatever Remedies may be called for to stop the Evil in its further Progress, a Supply from other Countries is the only present means of recruiting the Havock made by War and by Spirituous Liquors, and of replacing *Men* with *Men*.

If

If the Love of Liberty and Security be such, as to tempt *many* to purchase those Privileges, which should be common to all who breath the same Air, and submit themselves to the same Laws; if many had rather be Sojourners with Those who despise them, or send their Substance into a Country which rejects their Persons, than subject either to Persecution and Violence at Home; how must our Strength and Wealth have been now increased, and how would they still increase, were the separating Barriers thrown open to the Universe, to the Crowds driven by the Frenzy of civil and religious Tyranny! what the Effect of these must be, may be gathered from a Comparison of what we now are with former Ages, through the several Periods in which *Venice, Florence, Lombardy, Dantzick, Lubeck, Hamburgh, Bruges, and Antwerp*, carried the whole Trade of *Europe*; until Persecution and Oppression compelled Numbers to seek for Shelter among us.

Through the present Impotence of *Spanish* Cruelty, and the Prevalency of a better Policy in *France*, such Migrations may never again be produced as happened in the two last Centuries; but were the Passage left free and open to the Oppressed of all Countries where there are Oppressors, although a Torrent might not at once gush thro', a deep, a wide, though possibly a silent Stream would never cease to flow, from the inexhaustible Source of Pride and Ignorance; and a Flood thus composed of congregated Waters from various Soils, would be still more fruitful of new and various Produce.

The *Fortunate* gain by the Misfortunes, and the *Wise* by the Folly of others; and They whose Wisdom makes Preparation for the Events produced by these Causes, need no other Fund in which to trust their Hopes and Industry. E'er this be further neglected, for it has already been too long neglected, let us look around us, let us consider who may be our Enemies, and who can be our Friends! broken Systems, discordant Interests, defeated Enterprizes on the one Side, against solid and united Power, steady Views, and Superiority demonstrated by Success on the other. Let recent Trials leave suitable Impressions behind them! let not these be the only Consequences that do not remain! These may be salutary, and may hereafter prevent worse Mischiefs.

The common Objection to all Attempts of Naturalizing Foreigners, that it would bring the useless *Outcasts* of other Countries among us, is false and trifling. Who fly from Oppression, but the Lovers of Liberty? Who travel for Gain or Improvement, but the Active, the Strong, and the Industrious? Who would be allured by the Benefits of Naturalization, but those who have Means to entitle them to those Benefits? And does Naturalization confer any one Advantage which must not be earned by a Year's Service as a hired Servant in *Britain*, or by Wealth sufficient to purchase a House or Lands within this Realm? Without either of these, Naturalization gains no Settlement; and

and without a Settlement, no Parish is obliged to give any Assistance to the *Naturalized* Foreigner, which the *Unnaturalized* is not already entitled to by Law. But why, if the Lumber of Mankind were only to take Advantage of Naturalization, why do not those under that Prædicament, the Lazy, the Starving, the Aged, the Sickly, the Lame and the Blind quit the Mountains of *Scotland* and the Bogs of *Ireland* to crowd our Streets? They are Naturalized by Birth, and are a Part of us. Will it be said that They may be removed by Law, as They have a known Home within these Realms? But is this Law executed in many Instances? Is it ever executed, with respect to Those distant People, near the great Capital, or towards the Center of the Nation, where Wealth and Affluence would be most apt to allure Them? Is the Law known to Them, and are They deterr'd by it? or, are not Laziness, Poverty, Sicknes, Age and Imbecillity Impediments sufficiently strong against travelling into strange Countries, and bursting the Bands of Kindred, Acquaintance, Home-Affections, and Society in Misery? These, ever most prevalent on the weakest and most wretched, make them choose to starve in Herds, rather than wander far from Home, separate and dispersed, for a Livelihood.

Such insurmountable Difficulties in the way of Those who alone can be a Burden upon any Country where They settle, give one Advantage to Naturalized Numbers over a like Proportion of Native Inhabitants. They give the *useful*, clear from the promiscuous Mass; the Dross is left behind, and Industry is brought intire, freed of the Deductions in the common Course of Increase from the *Able* to the *Impotent*. The same Spirit which prompts Foreigners to come, will excite Them to struggle with many Disadvantages under which they must labour. Necessity will compel Them to work more or upon harder Terms than the Natives; the same Necessity, animated by Emulation, will induce Them to excel, until that Necessity and that Spirit diffusing itself through all Denominations, will from the Endeavours of Individuals to surpass one the other, end in a general Excellence; and enable the Nation to out-work and undersell Those who have already beat us out of some of the best Markets in *Europe*, in some of the most profitable Branches of Commerce, and are every Day making farther Advances upon us.

In this Situation, the fair State of the Question is, Whether we shall endeavour to preserve what we have, and recover what we have lost by the Assistance of Foreign Individuals, or suffer what yet remains to depart from us to Foreign Nations; whether we shall enrich the *German* or the *Swiss* who becomes one of us, or suffer 18 Millions of *Frenchmen* to enrich themselves at the Expence of our Misery and Decay. Would we always connect these Ideas, inseparably connected in Reason and Nature; would we consider the whole Argument intire, and not in its Parts, the Question would be easily decided. The

The vulgar Objection, that Foreigners thus admitted will eat the Bread of *Englishmen*, can only be an Argument in Favour of Those who would continue to eat the Bread of Idleness; and surely none can be so absurdly National, as to prefer *English* Laziness to Foreign Industry. Or if They should, let Them consider the Preference cannot rest there; that Laziness must be paid for by *Englishmen*, and the whole Nation must be taxed at the Will and Pleasure of the indolent Monopolist. But if the Word *Foreigner* still alarms the true-born *Englishman*, one Generation will absorb even that imaginary Distinction. The *English* Son will be called what the Father really was, an *Englishman*; and will possibly in his Turn bear Testimony to the Place of his Birth, by his Hatred to Foreigners.

Whatever specious Arguments may be used, whatever Mists Sophistry and Prejudice may throw over Truth, contrary to repeated Experience, in a Country peopled, enrich'd and saved by Foreigners; yet it remains incontestable by Reason, that whether we consider Poors Rates, Taxes or Trade, what is gained to the Nation, or what is paid for Government and the Support of our Poor, an Increase of Numbers would add to the general Stock, while it lightened each particular Burden by dividing and sharing the Weight.

But the same Ignorance of Law-Givers, to which all other Monopolies are owing, possibly continues this. The Laws for the Maintenance of our Poor are imperfect; They were meant to relieve the Wants of Old Age and Infirmary, and They create those Wants, by encouraging Laziness and Dissipation. Constant Abuses happen; every Body feels them, every Body complains. But we are too proud to learn from our Neighbours, and we are too unwise to institute any thing effectual of our own. Fear is an Attendant upon Ignorance, and we dread to increase our Numbers, lest we should multiply the Evil. Why then, upon the same Principles, are not Marriages forbid, until our Legislators are better instructed? and in doing this by Law, we should only do what many Squires in many Parishes attempt, by Virtue of their own Authority and their own Ignorance.

But if National Aversions be insuperable by Truth evident through Reason and Experience; if the Example of others be not sufficient to direct our Judgments, it may possibly prevail to inflame Emulation, and oppose *British* Generosity to *British* Prejudices.

The popish Natives of *Ireland* are considered as natural-born Subjects in *Spain*; the *French* naturalize Those of this Country in their Communion; they persecute Protestants, the cruel Edicts of *Lewis the Fourteenth's* Reign are renew'd and inforc'd by Royal Proclamations; some Wretches are already fled from their Fury into the neighbouring Islands of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*; let us be less Cruel, but not less Charitable and Hospitable than They; nor refuse to the persecuted Protestant that Asylum which They throw open to the unpersecuted Papist.

